/109 cont./

124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and
[123] generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they
[522] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and
157 loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a
521 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation,
522 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of
[134] an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light, idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found
522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes
157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually
609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers
522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they
159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one
[797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
● 157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.

[623] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.

[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

487 [487] 31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovĕnyi or pĕtām
father and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyīk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyīs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyīk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyīs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [157] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that [825] [237] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc.

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tswits*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle.

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *diçi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guchiau*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles!

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave.

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his cravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin.

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful. On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at, except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing consists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the
• 157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud
[36] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they
[177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization.
797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the
177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114, I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since
773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions.
[124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

/191 cont./

829 665 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

●157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems [648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs. [669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian [579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 623 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta, the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/251 cont./

In any case, "the curers have something and are kind," said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

/252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change, although they are friendly enough with whites. They always advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

/252 cont./

They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing with people.

When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs. They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají during their treatments.

They attract the entire concern of the community when epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sickness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their profession.

Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice. A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

The informant went to give treatments to a white patient at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies. Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.